

AN
ESSAY
ON THE
MANAGEMENT
OF THE
PRESENT WAR

WITH
SPAIN,

K As far as

It has been hitherto Conducted
on the Part of GREAT BRITAIN.

By an Impartial Hand.



L O N D O N:

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BY
J. R. M. V. M.

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BEFORE I enter upon the subject
Matter designed, I think it proper
to declare, that my Intention is
only to take an impartial Survey
of the present State of Things,
without Party or Prejudice; I therefore hope
to have a fair and candid Hearing; for, as a

late elaborate Author has it, * ' The Liberty
 ' of the Press ought, undoubtedly, to be in-
 ' violably preserved. Let every Man speak
 ' and write his Sentiments freely, and with-
 ' out Molestation upon all Affairs of publick
 ' Concern; let him enquire into them, let
 ' him reason upon them, let him make what
 ' Observations he pleases upon them, if he has
 ' Leisure, Opportunity, and proper Abilities;
 ' it is his Duty to do it, the Nation will be
 ' obliged to him for it, and he ought to be
 ' encouraged in it, if he does it in a fair,
 ' candid and decent Manner.'

Undoubtedly, this is all which any reason-
 able Man can desire; and having, as a Subject
 of *Great Britain*, produced my Authority
 by the above Quotation from a Paper so uni-
 versally esteem'd and admir'd by the *Great Men*
 in Power, I shall proceed without further
 Ceremony.

The King of *Spain* refusing to pay the Sum
 stipulated in the late *Convention*, for Reparation
 to our Merchants for the continual Depreda-
 tions which have been committed on that Side,
 against this Nation, these many Years past.
 Altho' that Sum fell vastly short of the Mer-
 chants Demands, his *Britannic* MAJESTY (on
 the 10th of *July* last) was pleased to cause an
 Order of Council to be published, wherein the
 Injustice of the *Spanish* Court was set forth in
 its
 Daily Gazetter, March 24, 1738.

its proper Colours, and full Liberty granted to the Merchants, &c. to take out General Letters of Marque and Reprisals against the Spaniards. This being looked upon as the certain Forerunner of a War with that Nation, divers Letters of Marque were accordingly taken out, Press Warrants were issued, and a great Number of Ships commissioned; yet, so condescending was our Ministry to the King of *Spain*, even to the last (if we may credit a publick News Paper, which, by the way, was never afterwards contradicted) that Mr. Keene declared to the *Spanish* Minister at the Court of *Madrid*, *That altho' the King his Master had been obliged, in Justice to his Subjects, to permit them to make Reprisals upon the Spaniards; yet, his Britannic MAJESTY did not intend to be thereby understood to break the Peace, but only to make use of the Right which Treaties gave him; and, as a Proof of his MAJESTY's good Intentions, he had charged him to assure the Ministry, that as soon as the Catholick King should be disposed to make the just Satisfaction which should be demanded of him, Reprisals should cease and give Place to an Accomodation:* So that the Justice of our Cause, as well as our Unwillingness to enter into a War with *Spain*, if it could have been any ways avoided, evidently appears by the above Declaration, which was again giving the King of *Spain* a fresh Opportunity to fulfil his Engagements with Us, and thereby to prevent an open Rupture between the two Crowns. But the
above

above Declaration not having the desired Effect, Messieurs *Keene* and *Castres* were recalled from *Madrid*, as was also the *Spanish* Minister from *London*. Our Warlike Preparations were then carried on with greater Vigour than before, and 'tis impossible to express with what Alacrity our brave *English* Tarrs entered the Service, in full Hopes, that the Time was come for them to punish the perfidious *Spaniards* for their Cowardice and Barbarity. So that by the 1st of *October* it was said, that we had increased the Number of our Seamen to 30,000, and that our Land Forces were near as numerous. And, on the 23d of the same Month, War was declared in Form against *Spain*, to the universal Joy of all TRUE BRITONS. Not a Corporation, nor even a Petty Borough, *except one*, throughout the three Kingdoms, but shewed their entire Satisfaction at the Measures his Majesty had taken; yet, notwithstanding the universal Consent of all loyal Subjects, a certain *Great Man* made no Scruple, still, to declare himself against it, and a certain Borough, which is *under his Influence*, received that Declaration, so becoming a *British* King and Council, in a very different Manner from all the rest of their Fellow Subjects.

'Tis true, the Mayor, &c. read it in publick, but without their Gowns on, or any Musick before them. And two poor Drummers that were hired by some Gentlemen in
the

the Town, who having more Loyalty than the Magistrates, had met at a Tavern to drink Success to his MAJESTY's Arms against *Spain*, were the next Day summoned before the Mayor, and obliged to *ask Pardon* for only beating a Point of War to the Success of *Great Britain*. Such a shameful, unaccountable Behaviour, in any of the Magistrates of *Spain*, or any other arbitrary Country, upon the like Occasion, would, no doubt, have met with the Punishment it had justly deserved, and I hope will be remembered here, by all true *British* Hearts, with *Ignominy* to the latest Posterity.

The only Excuse, tho' a poor one, which can be made for such an unwarrantable Behaviour upon so extraordinary an Occasion, must be, that as the Declaration of War was contrary to the Sentiments of their *inimitable* Patron, they were not willing to disoblige him, by shewing a *publick* Approbation of it; but more of this by and by.

His MAJESTY having conven'd the *Parliament* for the necessary Supplies to support so just and equitable a War, was pleased to say in his Speech from the Throne, *That he could not doubt, from their known Affection to His Person and Government, &c. but they would grant him such effectual Supplies, and with such Dispatch, as may forward, and give Spirit to our Preparations, and enable him to carry on the*
War

War with Vigour. And his MAJESTY in his Declaration of War against *Spain*, says to this Effect, *viz. That being assured of the ready Concurrence of all my loving Subjects in so just a Cause, I am determined to prosecute the War with the utmost Vigour, &c.*

Now, after such repeated Assurances from the Throne, it would be almost unpardonable to distrust His Royal Word. We may, from such solemn Promises, expect nothing less, than that his MAJESTY has given, or will give, Instructions to his Admirals to surprize some Part of *America*, and rest it out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*. Nay, this is the least we can expect, as no other Step can so soon contribute to bring the War to a speedy Issue; and, if we look for Reparation any other way, we may, in the End, find ourselves egregiously mistaken.

For Example, Can much be expected from Admiral *Haddock*, while the *Spanish* Fleet remains in the Bay of *Cadiz*. All that his Squadron has yet done, amounts to no more than now and then taking a *Spanish* Prize, and convoying the Merchant Ships to and from such Places whence they are bound. But will this pay the Expences of the War? Or is this likely to procure us an honourable Peace? To be sure it is not. If we continue such a Behaviour, we shall play the very Game the *Spaniards* would have us; since it would be
destroying

destroying our Shipping, and losing our Men, for not the least, or at best, but a trifling Advantage, that will be the taking a few Prizes, while the *Spaniards*, and those under their Commission, would still out-do us in privateering, as they have already done, *Five to One*.

I have seen a Foreigner make himself very merry upon such an Occasion. *What, said he, is this for the Honour of your British Fleet? Is this all the Business which such mighty Squadrons were sent out to perform? Only to act the low Part of Privateers, and even in that, to let themselves be outdone by Spanish Gallies?*

This is, to be sure, what we must expect, since, as we have a far greater Number of Merchant Ships on the *Mediterranean* Seas than the *Spaniards*, we must, of Course, lose more than they in Proportion. However, I am inclin'd to believe, that our Admirals were not sent out for these Ends only; since, if they were, the Admiralty would have supplied them with Ships of less Force, than those which they, at present, have under their Command.

It has been already observed by an honourable Person, that the War had not been entered upon in the most commendable Manner, since the *largest* Men of War were first commissioned, and no Care taken to provide

a sufficient Number of *small* Twenty Gun Ships, which would have annoyed the Enemy's Privateers in a more effectual Manner than the *large* are capable of doing, and thereby, perhaps, might have saved many of our Merchant Men, which, by such Neglect, or for want of Foresight, in not providing such *light* Ships, have fell a Sacrifice to the *Spaniards*.

We have Advice, that several *Spanish* Gallies, at the Beginning of the War, having been chased by some of our *great* Ships, saved themselves by steering into little *Creeks*, where the Water has been too shallow for ours to come within Cannon Shot. This our great Admirals and experienced Commanders at home, who have been engaged in late naval Wars, could not have been ignorant of. Being, therefore, willing to think favourably of such an Oversight, let us attribute it to their Unwillingness to carry on a privateering War, as being below the Dignity of his MAJESTY, and unworthy the Office of a *British* Fleet, unless a Privateer should now and then fall into their Way. But that they rather chose, by immediately commissioning our *ablest* Men of War, to take the first Opportunity, which might offer, of falling upon some of the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*. If I am mistaken, Time only, which proves all Things, will prove that. For certain, our taking a few rich Prizes, can never compensate for the
Damage

Damage our Shipping will sustain, by being exposed to Storms and Tempests, which are too frequent in the Winter Season; neither would it answer the Ends proposed, or be at all agreeable to the Sentiments of the *British* Parliament, or his MAJESTY'S sacred Promises, as well in his last most gracious Speech from the Throne, as in his late Declaration of War. So that we ought to hope, and expect, that much more vigorous Measures will be taken. And by the late rejecting of the Motion for the Call of the House in this Month, we may flatter ourselves, that the Ministry has finally determined what Place shall fall a Sacrifice to our Arms; since the extraordinary rejecting such a Motion, naturally implies that the Advice of the Senate is not wanted, to consult the future Prosecution of the War.

However, as our too great Supineness has been the Means of drawing on the War upon us, I hope that our Unanimity in carrying it on with the utmost Vigour, and in those Places, from whence we may best promise ourselves Success, will, in the End, obtain us a safe and honourable Peace, one that shall be permanent and lasting.

But, perhaps, it may be here ask'd, what Place might be thought most proper for us to make a Descent upon. I answer, not *Porto Bello*,

Bello; for, as a late judicious Author observes,* should we seize upon *Porto Bello*, and think that Way to distress the *Spaniards*, by hindering them from bringing home the Silver of *Peru*, we should find ourselves extremely deceived and laugh'd at by the *Spaniards*, who would very readily change the Course of it, and sail home by the Way of *Buenos Ayres*, and when the War was over, resettle it again, if they saw Occasion. Many People, I know, are big with the Project of taking *Porto Bello*, and so, as they fancy, to imprison the Silver Mines; for which Reason, I thought fit just to touch upon it.

The *Isle of Cuba* has been also represented as a most beneficial Place for us to seize upon, and, truly, so it is, as it would be then in our Power to give Laws to *America*, and to prevent all future Depredations of the *Spaniards*. But I must observe, that this Place is too strongly fortified, and contains too great a Number of Inhabitants for us ever to surprize by Force of Arms. Many Batteries are erected on the Frontiers, some of 40 and some of 60 Cannon, which our Ships of War could not easily dismount, without so great a Loss, both of Ships and Men on our Side, as we could not well be able to sustain. Our Enemies, therefore, could wish for nothing better than that we might attack so invincible a Place. So that if the Report be true, that
Ad—l

* Proposal for humbling Spain.

Ad—l V—n, with his Twenty Sail, is actually gone to surprize the *Havanna*, I am sorry for it, since many People, who are acquainted with the Place, affirm, *that it is an Overmatch for us*. And should we be repulsed with considerable Loss, our *Great Man* would then have a large Field to display his Eloquence in, and, in some measure, might be able to vindicate himself in his Disapprobation of our entering into a War with *Spain*. This, I say, I should be extremely sorry for, as it would be not only an infinite Loss to *Great Britain*, but, which is worst of all, might oblige us to take up with an *inglorious Peace*.

However, I believe that those who (for their sinister Ends) have been, and continue still to be, against the War, are, for their own Sakes, far from wishing us Success in it; and, therefore, Prudence ought to keep us from intrusting the Management thereof in their Hands; since, as it is *forced Meat* upon them, they will swallow it but with very *awkward Stomachs*, or, as the *Craftsman* elegantly expresses it, *As an Ape eats Mustard*.

If this be the true State of the Case (which God forbid it should) it is, indeed, a very hard one for poor *England*; yet, how often have we seen, in former Ages, the publick Good sacrificed to the *private Interest* of a few *ambitious Men* in Power: I say, if we reflect upon what has happened thro' the Supineness
and

and Pusillanimity of Ministers in former Reigns, it will be apt to create a Jealousy in us, and that Jealousy will serve to keep us upon our Guard for the future, lest we should suffer ourselves again to be imposed upon, and to be lull'd into too great a Security.

But to proceed, As I have shewn an entire Dislike to our surprizing *Porto Bello*, or the Island of *Cuba*, it may naturally be asked, In what Part I would propose a Descent? To which I answer, That the only Place upon which we might make a Descent, with any Probability of Success, must be BUENOS AYRES, which is situated on the South Side of the River of *Plate*: It having no other Fortification to defend it, but a small earthen Fort, surrounded with a Ditch, and mounted with about 20 Guns: The Town contains near 500 Houses, inhabited by a very wealthy People, who has had the Happiness never yet to be attack'd by any Enemy, since it was first settled; which they owe to their being placed, as 'tis thought, out of the Way of the whole World, except the *Portuguese*. Their whole Force (as Monsieur *Acarete du Biscay* says) does not amount to above 600 Men, the Three Companies in Garrison included. † So that a Squadron of Twelve Men of War, provided with a sufficient Number of Transport Ships, for the Four thousand Eight hundred Marines, which are now raising,

† Proposal for humbling Spain.

sing, will be more than sufficient to seize upon that Place. 'Tis ten to one, whether they make any Defence at all: If they do, it will be a very weak one, against so superior a Force. So that we may expect to obtain it with the Loss of a very few Men; which Consideration alone, ought to determine the Ministry to attack this Place, as their chief Arguments against the War have generally tended to set forth, that they had too great a Value for the Lives of his MAJESTY'S Subjects, to suffer a War *wantonly* to be entered into.

Now, were we possessed of this Place, we might fortify it in the best Manner the Country would allow of; for no *Stone* is to be found there, and the *Spaniards* have been too lazy to try to make *Brick*. But these Defects may be remedied more ways than one.

The *Fertility* of this happy Country exceeds Belief; for (Monsieur *Acarète du Biscay* says) their Plains, which are the largest in the World, as being *fifty*, and some *eighty*, Leagues in Circumference, are so covered with all Sorts of Cattle, that 'tis credible to none but those who see them. And the Soil affords all that *Italy* or *France* can boast of, as to Fruits or Garden Ware; and Grain, Wheat, Barley, Millet, &c. thrives no where better. Partridges are sold there for a Penny a Piece, and Beef, Veal, Mutton, Venison, Hares, Rabbits, Pullets, wild Fowl, &c. are as cheap
in

in Proportion. And for Health, which crowns all other Blessings, no Place upon Earth exceeds it; for which Reason it was called *Buenos Ayres*, or the *Good Air*. Thus much for the Climate and the Soil.

Its Situation, in regard to the Commerce of this Nation, is also of the greatest Importance; and no one Place in *Europe* or *America*, is more capable of increasing the Trade and Riches of *Great Britain*; for there runs a spacious Highway from *Buenos Ayres* to the Province of *Los Charcos*, in which *Potozy*, and the most considerable Mines are found; and as this Province is the Southernmost of the whole Kingdom of *Peru*, so consequently all *South America* may be supplied with Goods or Merchandize of all Kinds they want this Way, infinitely cheaper than any other now in use. Besides, were we possessed of *Buenos Ayres*, we might soon make ourselves Masters of *Santa Fe*, and *Assumption*, which are situated upon the same River. The former contains about *sixty* Houses, without any manner of Fortification; and the latter about 400 Families, but is no better defended than the other. It was settled by People who had, by their Idleness and Extravagance, outrun their Fortunes in *Peru*, and to this Day serves as a Retreat for all such Persons as can live no where else in the *Indies*.

Near

Near the City of *Assumption* is the Country of *Paragua*, where grows an excellent Herb, without which it would be impossible for the *Spaniards* to get any *Silver* Ore out of the Mines; for those poor Wretches, the *Negroes* and *Indians*, that are employed in working them, are almost every Hour suffocated with *mineral* Vapours, which they meet with in these vast subterranean Caverns; and then nothing will recover them, but a Liquor made, by infusing this Herb in warm Water, sweetened with Sugar, and drank plentifully, which restores them to their former Vigour: So that, without this Herb, the Mines would be of little or no use; since it would be present Death to those who should work in them.

Now were we possessed of these three valuable Places, the *Spaniards* would be under an absolute Necessity to open a Trade with us; nay, it would be in our Power to impose what Terms we pleased upon them. But had we no other Way to obtain it, than the affording our Goods as cheap again as the *Spaniards* could furnish themselves with the other Way; even that, with some Patience, would infallibly produce it. But without trusting to that, we should have them in a manner at our Mercy, by having the Herb of *Paragua* in our Hands. Not to mention our then being able to supply them with *Negroes* in sufficient Numbers, and much cheaper than formerly, which, in the End, would turn out

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doubly

doubly to their Advantage, since they would get yearly twice the Quantity of *Silver* they now do.

In short, *Buenos Ayres* * would, in a very few Years, have Funds of its own, without any ways oppressing the Inhabitants, and more than sufficient to defray the Charges of the Government. As a small Duty upon *Negroes* brought hither for the *Spaniards*, the like upon exported *Hides*, with which this Country abounds, and a very considerable one upon the Herb of *Paragua*; which would render it one of the least chargeable, and yet one of the most important Colonies the Crown of *Great Britain* ever had.

If, therefore, those who are acquainted with this Place, are not able to contradict the above Account of it, I hope a Squadron of *British* Men of War, with *Marines* on Board, will be employed this Spring in an Expedition to it.

But now I speak of *Marines*, I can't help mentioning the Presumption of some, for I can term it nothing else, who have laid Wagers, that the *Marines* will never be shipp'd on Board any Men of War at all. Will any Man imagine, that his MAJESTY would put the Nation to the certain Charge of One hundred and eighteen thousand Pounds, in raising and

* Proposal for humbling *Spain*.

and maintaining such a Number of *Marines*, without they were really intended for some Expedition? If such an *extraordinary* Expence should be incurr'd, to serve no other End than the bare *frightening* our Enemies, without doing them any Mischief, would it not be laughed at as ridiculous?

I own, as we live in a free Nation, we are at Liberty to suppose any thing, if we please; but they who will suppose that, will, no doubt, suppose many other Things, full as inconsistent with Reason. For my Part, I am none of those Unbelievers; whatever others think, I am always willing to think and hope the best. If afterwards the worst should happen, as I said before, Time will, without fail, let us know how it happened. And we need not fear, but if the War should prove unsuccessful, thro' any Remifness or Mismanagement of those at Home, who shall conduct it by their Instructions; that the Persons who occasioned such ill Success, will be brought to condign Punishment, for the sake of Justice, and to appease an injured People.

I know it has been a Doctrine of late mightily preach'd up, that a Minister is not accountable for the bad Success of a War. But I cannot chime in with this Notion. For as, according to the Instructions our Admirals receive, so they are obliged to act. It is partly in the

Breast of those Persons who send them their Instructions, to make the War successful or unsuccessful. If, for Example, a Minister should send out an Admiral with a Squadron of Ships to attack some Place of great Strength, which he was conscious to himself was an *Overmatch* for that Squadron, and the Admiral should fail of Success, and be obliged to retreat with an infinite Loss both of Ships and Men, without gaining the least Advantage over the Enemy, the Failure of such an Expedition might justly be charged upon him who gave such ill-concerted Orders; and he alone should be punished for it. A Commander, we know, must obey whatever Orders are sent him, or Death is his Portion. Why then should it not be the Lot of that Minister, who should be the Origin of such bad Success? If this be granted, which I think no one can deny, I hope I may be allowed to say, That it is the Interest of a Minister to conduct the War in such a Manner, as might best serve the Ends proposed by it.

‘ I know there are Accidents in War which
 ‘ no Prudence can foresee, and no Wisdom
 ‘ prevent. A Mistake in the Word of Com-
 ‘ mand has sometimes occasioned the Loss of a
 ‘ Battle : A Fleet may be shipwreck’d, before
 ‘ it can execute some Design which must
 ‘ ruin the Enemy. In Things the best con-
 ‘ certed, Fortune will have some Share in the
 ‘ Execution; but it is very easy to distinguish
 ‘ betwixt

* betwixt those Disappointments which come
 * from the Strokes of Fortune, and those
 * which are the natural Consequence of blun-
 * dering Counsels.

* Some Things are so absurd in their first
 * Projection, that it is not in the Power of
 * Fortune to give them Success—If, in a long
 * Course of such Measures, nobody is to be
 * called to Account, what must become of
 * the Commonwealth?*

I am far from desiring to aggravate Matters,
 but (as in Surgery) if the Wound be not first
 prob'd to the Bottom, a Cure can't well be
 effected; so also in Matters of State, if the
 worst is not fear'd, it cannot be effectually
 guarded against. The People of *England* are
 one and all, for a War with *Spain*, and no-
 thing, at present, can be so distasteful to them,
 as a Peace with that Power; since they have
 seen, for many Years past, that no Peace
 whatever can make the *Spaniards* sensible of
 their own Interest. The only Method we
 have left to make them sensible of it is, to
 pursue a vigorous War against them, since
 that, and that only, must reduce them to
 Reason: And, if we possess ourselves of *Buenos*
Ayres, we shall then have a good Pledge in
 our Hands for their future Behaviour.

* Common Sense, October 27, 1739.

I know it has been lately said, by one of the *Ministerial** Advocates, that *Two or Three* such *Acquisitions* as *Gibraltar*, would be the splendid, but *certain*, Ruin of us; but as the *Wickedness* and *Fallacy* of such an Assertion plainly appears at first Sight, I shall not here take up much Time, in further exposing it, any otherwise, than just to add this short Observation, *viz.* That if the *Spaniards* continue their Depredations upon us, while these two important Fortresses remain in our Hands, what numberless Insults, what future Interruption of our Commerce may not we well expect, should we ever be so weak as to abandon them to *Spain*.

But to return; there is some Talk of a Truce negotiating at *Paris*, which I hope will be as positively refused by our Ministers, as they have, of late, *French* Mediation, since it would be *infamous* to the last, for us to accept of a Truce, while we are able to carry on the War, especially as we have not yet suffered the least Damage from the Hands of our Enemies. A Truce is never accepted by any Nation at War with another, till the Strength of both is near exhausted, and Victory shall still remain doubtful; besides, were we to make a Truce with so treacherous a People as the *Spaniards*, it might, indeed, be religiously observed on our Side, but would never be kept on theirs, till we had sufficiently
scourg'd

* Grand Question whether War or no War with Spain.

scourg'd them. We have this for Instance, in the Advice we received of a Ship commanded by Captain Gwynn, bound from *New England* to the *Muscato* Shore, which was taken by a *Spanish Guarda Costa* in *April 1739*, altho' the *Convention Treaty* was then in its full Force: So that, as we see, Peace or no Peace, they will not leave plundering our Ships, we should never accept of a Truce, or any Thing else, till we have obtained a sure *Bird* in the Hand.

It will delight the Hearts of all true *Englishmen*, to read the *unanimous* Address of both Houses of *Parliament*, presented to his MAJESTY in *November* last, *Humbly beseeching* his Majesty, as a dutiful Return to his gracious Desire of the Advice of his *Parliament* at this critical and important *Conjuncture*; and, as a further Testimony of their firm Resolution vigorously to support his Majesty in the Prosecution of the War against *Spain*, never to admit of any Treaty of Peace with that Crown, unless the Acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable Right to navigate in the *American Seas*, to and from any Part of his Majesty's Dominions, without being seiz'd, search'd, visited, or stopp'd, under any Pretence whatsoever, shall have been first obtain'd as a Preliminary thereunto. This Address was truly becoming the Dignity and Freedom of a *British Parliament*; and it was no more than what we have a Right to demand of *Spain*, as it contained nothing but what was agreeable to Treaties, and the Law

Law of Nations ; and what, I dare say, if the War be rightly conducted, they will very gladly comply with.

But when they have done so, it cannot be deem'd any great *Boon* obtain'd; since it amounts to no more, than my desiring leave to travel unmolested from my House in *Town* to that in the *Country* ; and if, in my Journey, I am obliged to pass over a *Common*, which may belong to the *Lord* of that *Manor*, surely, as the *Common* is a publick Road, and, as such, free to all Persons, it is also free to me, and, consequently, I can't be said to transgress.

Now, as this is the exact State of the Case, when the *Spaniards* have given up their unjust Claim of searching our Ships upon the open Seas, they cannot make any Merit of it, since there would not be the least Condescension in their Compliance with so *reasonable* and *equitable* a Demand: For my Part, I never yet heard, that they positively refused us a Right to a free Passage to and from our own Colonies in *America*; and, if they should, it would be no less than laying Claim to those Colonies we possess, and, in a Manner, telling us, That we had no Right to them; altho' those very Colonies have been tacitly acknowledged by *Spain* to belong to the Crown of *Great Britain*, in the most solemn Treaties; nay, such a Behaviour would serve further to inform us, that they only waited the first favourable Opportunity

portunity to wrest them from us; and, if this should appear, we ought to be doubly upon our Guard, and to continue the more deaf to all Importunities for a Peace, till they shall be brought to acknowledge in a clear and express Manner our *indubitable* Right to them.

Now, if a War will not oblige them to comply with our just Demands, I am sure a Peace never will.

However, I hope, that the King of Spain has, by this Time, been convinced how much he has been deceived in his Conjectures. He has seen, on the one Hand, our *imperial* Sovereign, as the true Father of his People, espouse their Cause; and, on the other Hand, he has seen the People, as became good and faithful Subjects, chearfully submit to a *double Tax* for the Support of so just and so necessary a War.

It is my firm Opinion, that his MAJESTY's late Declaration of War against Spain, has quite swept away all *Animosities* from amongst us; and if so, which I think manifestly appeared by the Joyfulness of the People, upon the publishing that Declaration, that very Word should, for the future, as *disaffected*; and, as it will only tend to create Mischief, be banished the Kingdom; or, at least, as long as the War shall last: For nothing can

be more grating to a *brave* and *generous* People, who would readily sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for the Preservation of his MAJESTY and his *illustrious* House, than to upbraid them with that, which they are conscious they no way deserve ; and yet, is it not the constant Language of the *Gazetteer* Hacks, that we are in continual *Animosities* amongst ourselves ; that we are seditious, rebellious, and what not ; let them deny it if they can.

If then such Wretches, such servile Miscreants, shall be suffered to abuse a whole Nation in this manner, and be *protected* and *paid* for so doing, shall not the *injured* Subject be allowed to speak in his own Defence ? If this be denied him ; where then is our Liberty, which they so much boast of ?— What else will remain but the Shadow of it ?

Is it not shameful to think, that because the Wrongs of his MAJESTY's *injured* Subjects cry out for Vengeance against those who have oppressed them, their Oppressors shall represent them as a seditious and rebellious People ; and yet, bad as it is, I wish this be not the State of the Case.

The Liberty of acting has been lately denied us ; let not, therefore, the Liberty of speaking be taken from us. We have been told, that we have no Right to direct or instruct our *Representatives*, tho' it has been a Privilege which our Forefathers often thought worth contending for ; if, therefore, that is denied us, surely we may be allowed to sit down

down with the *overburden'd Ass*, and bemoan ourselves under our Misfortunes.

However, to say that the People of *Great Britain* have no Right to instruct their *Representatives*, when chosen, is to talk downright *Nonsense*; since the very Meaning of the Word *Representative* implies it. Every one knows, that a Member of the *lower House of Parliament* is elected by the People, who, by such Choice, resign their Rights to him; and he, being delegated by them, becomes their Steward or Trustee. His Electors, therefore, have an unquestionable Right to dictate him, and it is his Duty (as far as Reason directs) to act agreeable to their Sentiments and Instructions.

This shews the Absurdity of them who insist that a *Representative* is not accountable to the People.

History tells us, that *Oliver Cromwell*, when he usurped the Throne, turned the *Representatives* of the Nation out of the House of *Commons*, and supplied their Places with the Officers of his Army. Now, it may be truly said, that these Officers being chosen by *Oliver*, and not by the People, were accountable to none for what they did but *Oliver* himself. The only way, therefore, I can conceive to vindicate the Assertion, that the *Representatives* are not accountable to the People, would be to alter the most *essential* Part of our Constitution, by taking away the People's Right of electing *Representatives*, since they have so notoriously abused it; and to vest it wholly in the Minister: But then the Word *Representative* must be en-

tirely laid aside, otherwise it would be a downright Contradiction. I would therefore propose, that the only Appellation should be Members of the *lower* House of P——t. Now were this the Case, they would be accountable to none but the *Minister*, and he alone would have a Right to instruct and direct them; and, consequently, it would be no less than *petty Treason* in the People to interfere with such a P——t.

I own, too much Time has been spent in proving a Thing which would prove itself; but the above Doctrine having been of late much advanced by the ministerial Advocates, I thought myself indispensably obliged to expose it in its proper Colours.

But to return from whence I have digressed; Will any Man's *Common Sense* tell him, that when *England* groans under a heavy Load of national Debt, which is proportionably felt from the meanest Subject to the greatest: The Interest of which Debt, we are made deeply sensible of by the extraordinary Taxes which are yearly levied upon us, merely for the Discharge of that only. I say, will any Man's *Common Sense* tell him, that when we labour under such vast Difficulties, we should chuse a War, could it have been any ways with Honour avoided. No surely; but the Cries of our Merchants and Seamen, who have suffered so immensely from the Cruelty and Injustice of the *Spaniards*, called aloud for Vengeance. If there be any at the Helm, who still remain
against

against the War, let them have no Share in the conducting of it; since no Good can be expected from those who are obliged to act contrary to their Inclinations. Should we, by Force, send out an experienced Commander against his own Will, with an able Fleet of Ships, to undertake some important Expedition, we could expect nothing less than a Miscarriage in it, if worse did not follow.

After all, notwithstanding what has been alledged to the contrary, I am still persuaded, that this is the only proper Time we can ever expect, in which we may carry on the War with any Prospect of Success. His MAJESTY having lately strengthened himself with new *Alliances*, with those Powers, whose natural Interest it will be to support the *Imperial* Crown of *Great Britain* against the already too *exorbitant* Power of the House of *Bourbon*; besides which, the Forces of his MAJESTY are considerably increased by, and with, the *unanimous* Consent and Approbation of all his faithful Subjects. Our *Land Army* now amounting to near 29000 Men, and our *Naval Forces* to near 40,000, including the *Six Regiments of Marines* now raising with all possible Expedition.

When our *Imperial Sovereign* is possessed of such a powerful Army, for the Defence of his *Empire*, and with the Love and good Will of all his Subjects, will any Power dare to invade us? 'Tis even Madness to suppose it; however, 'tis Prudence to keep upon our Guard,
left

lest the worst should happen, tho' I am far from expecting it.

But, before I conclude, it will not be amiss to say something in regard to *France*. His most Christian MAJESTY, in Concert with his trusty Counsellor the *Cardinal*, is most assuredly using all Efforts to persuade our Ministry to enter into a Truce, in order to accommodate Matters with *Spain*, and to win them over to it, if possible, *France* has declared herself neuter, but now and then gives us to understand, that she is obliged by Treaty to assist *Spain* with Forces, if she should peremptorily demand them; and further, that the Ties of Blood will not suffer her quietly to see the Ruin of the latter.

Thus she now ruffs and smooths, as she sees Occasion. But we may depend upon it, if our Ministry continue averse to a Peace offer'd by so partial a *Mediatrice*, which Heaven send they may, she will, at a proper Time, when her Merchant Ships are all at Home, make no Scruple to declare against us, altho' it will then be much against her Interest.

However, even that ought not to intimidate, but rather animate us: For, in such a Situation, the *Dutch* could no longer excuse themselves from supplying us; and we should then have the full Liberty of applying to our other grand Allies, who would, in such a Case, be ready and willing to assist us.

If we take this for granted, as we naturally may, no future Time could be so proper

as

as the present is, for vigorously carrying on the War with *Spain*.

And, I hope, before it is ended (if Satisfaction is not soon granted us, and every thing else which we may in Justice demand) to see the *Topfails* of the House of *Bourbon* reduced much lower than they are at present.

To conclude. The People of *England* were never more *unanimous* than they are at present. But some *Jealousy* still subsists; which proceeds not from *Disaffection*, but only from a Consciousness lest the War should not be conducted with that Vigour, which they have the greatest Reason from the Justice of their Cause to expect. And, to be plain, this *Jealousy* was first raised by the manifest Dislike, which a *certain* Great Man shewed to our entering into the War. Therefore, if there be any *Jealousies* or Murmurings amongst the People, as he raised them by such an open Disapprobation, he alone ought to be answerable for them. And it is still in his Power, by his future Conduct, to quiet the Minds of the People, and to make his *Sovereign's* Reign glorious, happy, and prosperous.

Let the War be pursued with the *utmost Vigour*, and the People will not be backward in contributing towards it.

Lastly, May his MAJESTY never lay down his Arms (unless the utmost Necessity obliges him to it) till full Satisfaction be made for all past Injuries, and good Security given us by *Spain*, for her future Conduct in Time to come. May

we

we be possessed of *Buenos Ayres*, as a Pledge for her future Conduct. May we never, as heretofore, lose in the *Cabinet*, what we shall gain in the *Field*; but may the Treaty, which shall be made, settle our Right to whatever Conquests his MAJESTY shall think fit to keep. And may those *Ministers* be eternally blest, who shall be *instrumental* in obtaining us so *honourable* a Peace; is the hearty Prayer of a

Jan. 7, 1740.

TRUE BRITON.

E I N S



